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**HEATHENISM, IDOLATRY AND RATIONAL  
MONOTHEISM AMONG THE HINDUS:  
BARTHOLOMÄUS ZIEGENBALG'S *AKKIYĀṆAM*  
(1713) AND OTHER WORKS ADDRESSED TO  
TAMIL HINDUS**

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Although by no means the first work to be printed in India, Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg's 1713 Tamil tract *Akkiyāṇam* nevertheless marks the beginning of a new era in print culture in India. Several presses had been established by Roman Catholic missionaries in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but none remained in operation very long,<sup>1</sup> and a total of only ten Tamil books, and only six different texts,<sup>2</sup> were printed on them. A continuous history of printing in Tamil begins only with the establishment of the Tranquebar press, "the longest-lived and most prolific of all 18th-century presses in South Asia,"<sup>3</sup> and the publication of *Akkiyāṇam*.

***Akkiyāṇam* and "Das verdammliche allgemeine Heidenthum"**

The full Tamil title of the tract is *Akkiyāṇam ettiṇai aruvarukka-p-paṭa-t-takka kāriyam eṇrum atile nikkīra perkaḷ yeppaṭi reścikka-p-paṭṭu karai-y eṛalām eṇrum veḷippaṭuttukīra veta-p-pīramāṇam* [*vēta-p-pīramāṇam*].<sup>4</sup> According to the mission diary, Ziegenbalg finished

<sup>1</sup> Graham Shaw, *The South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography. Stage 1: 1500-1800*, London: The British Library, 1987, pp. 5-7.

<sup>2</sup> Stuart Blackburn, *Print, Folklore, and Nationalism in Colonial South India*, Delhi: Permanent Black, 2003, p. 43.

<sup>3</sup> Shaw, *The South Asia and Burma Retrospective Bibliography. Stage 1: 1500-1800*, p. 7.

<sup>4</sup> In preparing this article I have had access to a photocopy of the 1713 Tamil text of *Akkiyāṇam* and to the unpublished English translation of the work by D. Rajarigam entitled "Scriptural evidences showing how detestable is a-jnana and how those in a-

writing *Akkiyānam* in July 1713,<sup>5</sup> a few weeks before the arrival in Tranquebar of the Tamil type cast in Halle.<sup>6</sup> The *Halle Reports*<sup>7</sup> record that typesetting began on 19 September 1713, and that printing was completed on 25 October 1713.<sup>8</sup> In several letters dated 6 October 1713, Ziegenbalg reports that printing had begun, describing the tract as “a booklet, dedicated to the heathen, consisting of eight chapters, wherein is shown how loathsome heathenism is, and how those who live in it may be rescued and saved.”<sup>9</sup> Three days later, a further letter gives for the first time a translation of the title into German: “Eine Gesetz-Regel, welche zeigt, was das Heydenthum für eine abscheuliche Sache sey, und wie diejenigen, so darinnen stehen, davon errettet und selig werden können.”<sup>10</sup> Another letter from the following year gives a slightly different title,<sup>11</sup> and a later list of books printed by the mission alters

jnana can be saved” and dated 2.7.1967. I am grateful to Andreas Gross and to Hugal Graf, respectively, for making these available to me.

<sup>5</sup> Daniel Jeyaraj cites an entry for 20 July 1713 from the mission diary in the Danish National Archives, Copenhagen (Reg. 107. Laeg. 6), as follows: “wurde ein Malabarisches Tractatlein verfertigt von dem Heidenthum, bestehende in 6 [sic] Kapitel, und wurde um deßwillen elaboriert, daß es am ersten zum Malabarischen Druck gegeben werden soll, um solches vielfältig unter die Heyden zu verteilen.” (Daniel Jeyaraj, *Inkulturation in Tranquebar: der Beitrag der frühen dänisch-halleschen Mission zum Werden einer indisch-einheimischen Kirche (1706-1730)*, Erlangen: Verl. der Ev.-Luth. Mission, 1996, p. 149).

<sup>6</sup> Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler to Francke, Tranquebar, 9.9.1713, AFS/M: 1 C 5: 27/28p; Arno Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe aus Indien: unveröffentlichte Briefe von Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg 1706-1719*, Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1957, p. 285.

<sup>7</sup> The series usually referred to as the *Hallesche Berichte* (“Halle Reports”) began with the publication, in 1710, of a single letter, to which further instalments (“*Continuationen*”) were subsequently added at irregular intervals. Ziegenbalg’s letters are contained in the first two of the eventual nine volumes (consisting of 108 instalments in all), later given the title *Der königlich dänischen Missionarien aus Ost-Indien eingesandte ausführliche Berichte von dem Werck ihres Amtes unter den Heyden* (Halle, 1710-1772). The first volume, edited by August Hermann Francke, containing twelve continuously paginated instalments, was complete by 1717, and is abbreviated here as HB I. The second (instalments 13-24, 1719-1729) and third (instalments, 25-36, 1727-1732) volumes, edited in part by Francke and later by his son Gotthilf August Francke, were not continuously paginated, so references are given to the volume (HB II or HB III) and instalment (Con.).

<sup>8</sup> HB II, 13. Con.: 36; HB III, 33. Con.: 928.

<sup>9</sup> Ziegenbalg and Gründler to J. Trellund and J. Lodberg, Tranquebar, 6.10.1713, Missionsabteilung des Archives der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle (hereafter AFS/M): 1 C 5: 60a-b; Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe*, pp. 318-22. See Ziegenbalg and Gründler to Plütschau, Tranquebar, 6.10.1713, AFS/M: 1 C 5: 51; Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe*, pp. 325-28.

<sup>10</sup> HB I: 633.

<sup>11</sup> “Was das Heydenthum für eine zu verabscheuende Sache sey, und wie diejenigen, so darinnen stehen, können daraus errettet und selig werden.” HB I: 924.

“Gesetz-Regel” to “Lehrbuch”.<sup>12</sup> The title appears in English for the first time in 1718, in the expanded edition of the third part of the *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*, as “*The Abomination of Paganism, and the Way for the Pagans to be sav’d.*”<sup>13</sup> A later English work, unconnected with the mission, referred to the tract as “Paganism, a state of damnation.”<sup>14</sup>

The tract has already been described in an article by Hans-Werner Gensichen published in 1967 entitled “‘Verdammliches Heidentum’: Eine wiederaufgefundene Schrift von Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg.”<sup>15</sup> Despite the title of his article, Gensichen nowhere gives “Verdammliches Heidentum,” as a translation of Ziegenbalg’s title, using the phrase only once more in the article, and there only in describing the content of the tract.<sup>16</sup> The tract is most often referred to in scholarly literature as “Verdammliches Heidentum” but this is not Ziegenbalg’s translation of the Tamil title. “Das verdammliche allgemeine Heidentum” is the title of an earlier work in German, now lost, written by Ziegenbalg in the previous year (1712) and addressed to a European, rather than an Indian, audience. The use of “Verdammliches Heidentum” as the German

<sup>12</sup> HB II, 13. Con.: 35-6.

<sup>13</sup> Anton Wilhelm Böhme, ed., *Propagation of the Gospel in the East: Being a Collection of Letters from the Protestant Missionaries, and other worthy Persons in the East-Indies, &c. Relating to the Mission; the Means of Promoting it; and the Success it hath pleased GOD to give to the Endeavours used hitherto, for Propagating True Christianity among the Heathen in those Parts, but chiefly on the coast of Coromandel. With a map of the East-Indies. Part III. Published by the direction of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge*, London: Printed and Sold by J. Downing, in Bartholomew Close near West Smithfield, 1718, p. 68. It is here translated from a Latin letter (Ziegenbalg to the SPCK, Tranquebar, 6.10.1713, AFS/M: 1 C 5: 54/55).

<sup>14</sup> John Henry Grose, *A voyage to the East-Indies; began in 1750; with observations continued till 1764; including authentic accounts of the Mogul government in general, the Viceroyalties of the Deccan and Bengal, with their respective subordinate Governments under their respective Nabobs, and independent States; particularly those of Angria, the Morattoes, and Tanjoreans. Of the religions in India; the Mahomedan, Gentoo, and Parsees. Miscellaneous customs; and general reflections on the trade of India. Of the European settlements, etc. The second edition, greatly improved*, 2 vols., London: printed for the author, and sold by S. Hooper at the East Corner of the New Church in the Strand, 1766, Vol. I, p. 265.

<sup>15</sup> Hans-Werner Gensichen, “‘Verdammliches Heidentum’: Eine wiederaufgefundene Schrift von Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg”, *Evangelische Missions-Zeitschrift* Vol. 24 (1), 1967, pp. 1-10. An English translation appeared in the same year (Hans-Werner Gensichen, “‘Abominable Heathenism’: A rediscovered tract by Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg”, *Indian Church History Review* Vol. 1 (1), 1967, pp. 29-40).

<sup>16</sup> Gensichen, “Verdammliches Heidentum”, p. 9.

translation of the title of Ziegenbalg's 1713 Tamil tract is the result of a longstanding confusion of the titles of the two works.

The work Ziegenbalg entitled "Das verdammliche allgemeine Heidenthum" is first described in the "Historische Nachricht von der Bekehrung unter den Heyden in Ost-Indien," an account of the mission's daily activities, compiled in 1712 and published in the *Hallesche Berichte* in 1715.<sup>17</sup> The entry for 15 March 1712 is headed "Composition of a German booklet on universal heathenism in the world" and reads:

In the same way the writing of a German tract on universal heathenism was begun by one of us, which was completed on the 13th of April. There were various reasons for this, all directed to one end: to show the necessity and possibility in these times of the conversion of the remaining heathens to be found in this world. This tract will be sent to Europe this year with the following title: Damnable universal heathenism, namely how the same first arose in the world, wherein it consists, etc. Written in the East Indies, and presented by B.Z. to Christians in Europe for their careful consideration.<sup>18</sup>

There is a further brief reference to this work in a Latin letter addressed to the SPCK and dated 20 June 1712.<sup>19</sup> In two further letters, one dated 17 September 1712,<sup>20</sup> and the other 3 January 1713,<sup>21</sup> Ziegenbalg gives the full title of the work as follows:

Das verdammliche, allgemeine Heidenthum, wie nämlich selbiges in der Welt seinen Ursprung genommen, worinnen es bestehe, wie sichs in aller Welt ausgebreitet habe; auch wie es in mancherlei Sekten zerteilt worden; was es noch mit dem Judenthum und mit der Vernunft in natürlichen und geistlichen Dingen gemein habe. Welch ein Greuel es in den Augen Gottes sey; wie heftig es zur Zeit des Alten Testaments das Judenthum, und zur Zeit des Neuen Testaments das Christenthum verfolgt habe; auf was Weise Gott selbiges zur Zeit das Alten Testamentes ausgerottet habe und wie deßen Vertilgung im

<sup>17</sup> HB I: pp. 217-336.

<sup>18</sup> HB I: p. 287.

<sup>19</sup> Ziegenbalg to the SPCK, Tranquebar, 20.6.1712, AFSt/M: 1 C 4: 6. Versions of the letter were published in Latin, German and English, giving the title of the work as "de Paganismo in genere" (HB I: 302), "vom allgemeinen Heydenthum" (HB I: 308) and "on Paganism in general" (Böhme, ed., *Propagation of the Gospel in the East [Part III: expanded edition]*, p. 36).

<sup>20</sup> Ziegenbalg and Gründler, Tranquebar, 17.9.1712, AFSt/M: 1 C 4: 11; Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe*, pp. 247-51.

<sup>21</sup> Ziegenbalg and Gründler to the Theological Faculty in Copenhagen, Tranquebar, 3.1.1713, AFSt/M: 1 C 5: 3a-b.

Neuen Testament geschehen; welcher Gestalt dessen Ausrottung von da an bis zu unseren Zeiten kontinuiert; wie noch heutzutage eine Bekehrung der Heiden zu hoffen, durch was für Hindernisse selbige noch aufgehalten werde; auch durch was Mittel und auf was Weise solche Bekehrung anzufangen und fortzusetzen sei.<sup>22</sup>

The first letter adds a note that the work was presented to Christians in Europe and dedicated in particular to Protestant professors of theology.<sup>23</sup> A copy of the second letter, which does not include this note, was sent to Anton Wilhelm Böhme in London, with the request that he should both send a copy to August Hermann Francke, and have it published.<sup>24</sup> Although Böhme did publish a translation of the title in 1714 (in the first edition of the third part of *Propagation of the Gospel in the East*), this appears to be taken from the first of the letters, for it includes the note that the work was dedicated to Christians, and in particular Protestant professors, in Europe:

*A Treatise of the whole Pagan Idolatry: Wherein is treated of the first Rise and Origine of Paganism; of its Nature and Constitution; of its vast Extent throughout the whole World; of its Division into various Sects and Parties; of its Affinity with Judaism, and of what there remains in it of Reason, both in respect to natural and spiritual Matters; of its Abominableness in the Eyes of God; of the violent Opposition it raised against the Jewish Church in the Old Testament, and against the Church of Christ in the New; of the Means made use of for extirpating it under the Old Testament, and of the likeliest Means whereby it may be extirpated under the New-Covenant; of the*

<sup>22</sup> See below for a contemporary translation of this title.

<sup>23</sup> "Geschrieben in Ostindien und den Christen in Europa zum nötigen Nachdenken vorgestellt vom 23.4. Dieses Buch ist den Herrn Professoren S. S. Theologiae auf allen Universitäten der ganzen protestantischen Kirche dediziert worden, womit ein so allgemeines Werk in desto bessere Consideration möchte gezogen werden." Ziegenbalg and Gründler, Tranquebar, 17.9.1712, AFSt/M: 1 C 4: 11; Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe*, p. 249.

<sup>24</sup> Ziegenbalg, Gründler and Polycarp Jordan to Böhme, Tranquebar, 5.1.1713, AFSt/M: 1 C 5: 9; Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe*, p. 284. The letter to the Theological Faculty in Copenhagen is still unpublished in German. The manuscript in Halle, which is presumably the copy that Ziegenbalg asked Böhme to have made for Francke, is incomplete. It is possible that either the copy sent to Böhme, or that sent to Copenhagen, is extant, but I have found no evidence to suggest that either is. On this letter see also Will Sweetman, "The Curse of the Mummy: Egyptians, Hindus and Christians in the *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses* and La Croze's *Histoire du christianisme des Indes*" (paper presented at the 18th European Conference on Modern South Asian Studies, Lund, Sweden, 6-9 July 2004).

*Hopes of their approaching Conversion; of the Impediments whereby their Conversion is obstructed, and of the Means whereby it may be promoted. Written by B. Z. in the East-Indies. Recommended to the Consideration of the European Christians in general, and particularly dedicated to the Divinity-Professors of the Protestant Universities in Europe.*<sup>25</sup>

In June 1714, Francke mentions the tract in his foreword to the first part of the “Malabarische Correspondenz,” noting that while he would be willing to publish it, he had not yet received the work, despite the fact that it had been sent from Tranquebar in 1712.<sup>26</sup> It may be that no copy of the tract ever arrived in Europe, for the only further reference to the tract of which I am aware is in a catalogue, prepared by Christoph Theodosius Walther in 1731, of Tamil works in the mission library in Tranquebar.<sup>27</sup> The fifth section lists Tamil works written on paper, but also “manuscripts in other languages, relevant to Malabarian literature, or to their heathenism and philosophy.”<sup>28</sup> The list includes eight works in Tamil, and six in other languages, including Ziegenbalg’s *Genealogie* and Johann Ernst Gründler’s “Malabarische medicus.” Among the works in languages other than Tamil, is listed:

Ziegenbalg’s *Allgemeines Heydenthum*. In quarto, as thick as a thumb, written anno 1712. In the foreword he states his purpose for writing

<sup>25</sup> Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, *Propagation of the Gospel in the East: Being a Farther Account of the Success of the Danish Missionaries Sent to the East-Indies, for the conversion of the Heathens in Malabar. Extracted from the Letters of the said Missionaries, and brought down to the Beginning of the Year MDCCXIII. Part III. Wherein besides a Narrative of the Progress of the Christian Religion in those Parts, with the Helps and Impediments which hitherto have occur’d; several Hints are inserted concerning the Religion of the Malabarians, their Priests, Poets, and other Literati; and what may be expected from the Printing-Press lately set up at Tranquebar*, trans. Anton Wilhelm Böhme, first ed., London: printed and sold by J. Downing in Bartholomew Close near West Smithfield, 1714, pp. 45-6.

<sup>26</sup> HB 7: Vorrede. See Kurt Liebau, *Die malabarische Korrespondenz: tamilische Briefe an deutsche Missionare; eine Auswahl*, Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1998, p. 40.

<sup>27</sup> Christoph Theodosius Walther, “Bibliotheca Tamulica consistens in recensione librorum nostrorum, mscr-torum ad cognoscendam et linguam & res Tamulicas inseruentium”, (1731). Royal Library, Copenhagen, shelf mark: Ny.Kgl.Saml. 589C. A partial translation of this catalogue, together with a translation of the British Library’s manuscript copy of Ziegenbalg’s earlier catalogue, the *Bibliotheca Malabarica*, has been published (Albertine Gaur, “Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg’s Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher”, *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1967, pp. 63-95). Gaur, writing in 1967, reported that the Copenhagen manuscript was in “a state of progressive disintegration,” but this process seems to have been arrested; in 2004 the manuscript was quite legible.

<sup>28</sup> Walther, “Bibliotheca Tamulica”, p. 149.

this work. From there it is immediately apparent that it contains not only a description of the Malabarian Heathenism, but rather also a general treatment of heathenism. It consists of thirteen chapters; in Chap. XI he deals with hindrances to the conversion of the heathen. Chap. 12, of helps for the same. Chap. 13. The ways and means of working for heathen conversion.<sup>29</sup>

Jeyaraj suggests that it is possible that the 1712 German tract is a translation of a Tamil palm-leaf manuscript entitled *Inta-p-pūlokattile yuntāna nālu pīratāna [piratāna] cātiyāruṭaiya vattamānaṅkaḷai [varttamānaṅkaḷai] velippaṭuttukira tarḱka [tarukka] cāṣṭtiram*.<sup>30</sup> While there is clearly some overlap in perspective and subject matter, between this text—a dialogue on the religions of the four main peoples of world, i.e. Christians, Jews, Muslims and heathens (*akkiyāṅkaḷ*)—and the 1712 tract, it seems unlikely that the later work is in any straightforward sense a translation of the earlier. The 1709 tract, *Nālu pīratāna cātiyār*, is in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and his pupil and, according to Jeyaraj’s catalogue, consists of four palm-leaf pages each bearing ten lines of text.<sup>31</sup> Ziegenbalg does not describe the form of the 1712 tract as a dialogue, and his 1712 report states that he began to write (not translate) “Das verdammliche allgemeine Heydenthum” on 15 March finishing it a month later, on 13 April. It is unlikely that it would have taken him so long to translate a short Tamil text of his own composition. Like *Akkiyāṅam*, *Nālu pīratāna cātiyār* is addressed to an Indian audience, whereas “Das verdammliche allgemeine Heydenthum,” is explicitly

<sup>29</sup> Ibid, p. 153.

<sup>30</sup> Daniel Jeyaraj, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalgs “Genealogie der malabarischen Götter”*: Edition der Originalfassung von 1713 mit Einleitung, Analyse und Glossar, Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 2003, p. 257. In several places Jeyaraj dates this work to 1709 (Jeyaraj, *Inkulturation*, p. 322; Daniel Jeyaraj, *Erschliessung der Tamil-Palmblatt-Manuskripte*, Halle/Madras: Archiv der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle/Lutheran Heritage Archives, 2001, p. 122 (#61); Jeyaraj, *Ziegenbalgs “Genealogie der malabarischen Götter”*, p. 256), but elsewhere he dates it to 1707 (Jeyaraj, *Ziegenbalgs “Genealogie der malabarischen Götter”*, pp. 256-295 and 484). Although some dialogues in Tamil are described in Ziegenbalg’s *Bibliotheca Malabarica* of 1708 (Wilhelm Germann, “Ziegenbalg’s Bibliotheca Malabarica”, *Missionsnachrichten der Ostindischen Missionsanstalt zu Halle* Vol. XXII 1880, pp. 2, 8-9), none of these texts, which are described as dealing with the main points of Christian doctrine, fit the description of *Nālu pīratāna cātiyār*, suggesting that the later date is to be preferred. The work is probably that described as “Kurtzer Unterricht von der Christlichen, Jüdischen, Mahometanischen und Heydnischen Religion,” included in a list of the missionaries’ Tamil works compiled in 1712 (HB I: 332).

<sup>31</sup> Jeyaraj, *Tamil-Palmblatt-Manuskripte*, p. 122 (#61).

said by Ziegenbalg to be “presented to Christians in Europe.” Moreover, from the description of “Das verdammliche allgemeine Heydentum” in Walther’s catalogue, it is clear that this was a much longer work; written on paper, it is described as being “as thick as a thumb.”

The confusion of Ziegenbalg’s “Das verdammliche allgemeine Heidentum” with *Akkiyāṇam* may arise from the revision and republication of the latter work by Ziegenbalg’s missionary successors. The mission report for the last week of September 1728 states: “And because two Malabarian tracts, entitled the Order of Salvation and the Damnable Universal Heathenism had run out, therefore they were revised and reprinted, two hundred copies of the first and three hundred of the second.”<sup>32</sup>

A footnote makes clear that by “das verdammliche allgemeine Heydentum” the authors mean the 1713 tract, *Akkiyāṇam*, and not the 1712 tract. The note records that because the Malabarians hated the words *akkiyāṇikaḷ* and *akkiyāṇam*, which had been used to translate “heathen” and “heathenism”, these were altered in the revised work to *meññāṇam-illāvarkaḷ* and *meññāṇam-illāmai* “those who lack true knowledge” and “the lack of true knowledge”. It adds that because the Malabarians find the method of presenting a topic through question and answer the easiest, the eight chapters of which the little tract is composed have been subdivided into questions.<sup>33</sup> The resulting work was published under the title *Meññāṇam-illāmaiye veḷipattutukira veta-p-piramāṇam* [*vēta-p-piramāṇam*]. Jeyaraj, who ascribes the revision to Walther, comments: “The language in the revised edition is somewhat better and more fluent than in Ziegenbalg.”<sup>34</sup> Gensichen refers to a further edition in 1745,<sup>35</sup> and a fourth edition of 1772 is listed in the catalogue of the University of Erlangen-Nürnberg library.<sup>36</sup>

Thus, while it is clear that the missionaries in 1728 knew this work to be *Akkiyāṇam*, they used the title “Das verdammliche allgemeine

<sup>32</sup> HB III: 26. Con. 67-8.

<sup>33</sup> Ibid, Con. 68.

<sup>34</sup> Jeyaraj, *Inkulturation*, p. 151.

<sup>35</sup> Gensichen, “Abominable Heathenism”, p. 31; Gensichen, “Verdammliches Heidentum,” p. 3.

<sup>36</sup> See Germann, who also notes four editions (Wilhelm Germann, *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau: Die Gründungsjahre der Trankebarschen Mission. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte des Pietismus nach handschriftlichen Quellen und ältesten Drucken. Abth. I.*, Erlangen: Verlag von Andreas Deichert, 1868, p. 293).

Heydentum.” A diary entry from the previous year, which also refers to “das Malabarische Tractätlein vom verdammlichen Heydentum,”<sup>37</sup> seems to be the first time the shortened form of the title is used when referring to *Akkiyāṇam*. This title appears again in a chronological list of the mission’s publications printed in the *Halle Reports* in 1733,<sup>38</sup> suggesting that this became the established translation of the Tamil title. Later writers on the mission most often use this title. Thus in 1867, Germann refers to “the Tamil tract ‘vom verdammlichen Heidentum’.”<sup>39</sup> The confusion of the two works is also to be found in a brief list of Ziegenbalg’s works prepared by Arno Lehmann, which mentions “Vom verdammlichen Heidentum,” giving the year of composition as 1713, but without indicating whether he intended the German or the Tamil tract on heathenism.<sup>40</sup> The date of 1713 suggests that Lehmann intends the Tamil tract, *Akkiyāṇam*, but the title suggests the lost 1712 German tract. The rare extant copies of *Akkiyāṇam* usually also have the title “Das verdammliche Heydentum” connected to them in library catalogues.<sup>41</sup> The copy in the Berlin Staatsbibliothek has a leaf glued in facing the title page which, in part, reads: “Verdammtes Heidentum (eigentlich: Der heidnischen Betrugs verächtliche Tätigkeit).”

Gensichen was perhaps following this tradition in the literature when using “Verdammliches Heidentum” in the title of his article, for he was aware of the 1712 tract. He writes that

for a complete analysis Ziegenbalg’s ‘Letter to the Malabar Heathens’ should also be taken into account... further, see ‘Traktat

<sup>37</sup> HB III. 25. Con. 27.

<sup>38</sup> “Das verdammliche Heydentum, Malabarisch, davon der Titel also lautet: *Akkiānattei wēlippaduttugira wēda-pōramānam*: vier Bogen in *Octavo*. Den 25. *Oct.*” HB 33: 928.

<sup>39</sup> Germann, *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau, Abth. I*, p. 293. Alwin Gehring, most probably following Germann, uses the same title to refer to a work of Ziegenbalg’s, published on the Tamil press in 1713 (Alwin Gehring, *Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, der Vater der evangelischen Tamulnmission. Eine Jubiläumsgabe*, 2. erweiterte Auflage ed., Leipzig: Verlag der Evangelisch-Lutherischen Mission, 1907, p. 36).

<sup>40</sup> Arno Lehmann, “Halle und die südindische Sprach- und Religions-Wissenschaft”, *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle-Wittenberg: Gesellschafts- und sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe Nr. 2* Vol. 2 (3), 1952/3, p. 156.

<sup>41</sup> The catalogue of the Franckeschen Stiftungen library, which lists five copies of *Akkiyāṇam*, has the note: “Biblische Schrift, die zeigt, was für eine zu verabscheuende Sache die Unwissenheit ist und wie diejenigen, die darin stehen, können errettet werden” [Tamil] Erstdruck der Missionary Press, Tranquebar. Nebentit.: Das verdammliche Heydentum.”

vom Malabarischen Heidentum', in German, which was written in 1711 and intended for European readers (HB I, p.54, 283), as well as another German writing 'Das verdammliche allgemeine Heidentum' (1712; HB I, p.287 cf. *W. Caland* (ed.) *Ziegenbalg's Malabarisches Heidentum*, Amsterdam 1926, p.4 note 1). These two writings were never printed. In his list of Ziegenbalg's publications, *A. Lehmann* has included only the latter title.<sup>42</sup>

Nevertheless, there is still an element of confusion here, for the list by Lehmann to which Gensichen refers includes both the "Generalbeschreibung des Malabarischen Heidentums 1711 (Amsterdam 1926)" and, as mentioned above, "Vom verdammlichen Heidentum. 1713,"<sup>43</sup> suggesting that Gensichen regarded the "Traktat vom Malabarischen Heidentum" as still another work, not the work edited by Caland in 1926. More recently, in his 1996 work, Jeyaraj refers to *Akkiyāṇam* by what he calls, "the German title 'Das verdammliche Heidentum'" noting, however, that this is not an adequate rendering of the Tamil.<sup>44</sup> In his later edition of the *Genealogie*, Jeyaraj uses the full Tamil title.<sup>45</sup>

The confusion is further compounded by Singh in the checklist of Ziegenbalg's works appended to his biography.<sup>46</sup> Singh correctly identifies "*A Treatise of the Whole Pagan Idolatry*" as a German work, but incorrectly states that it was "printed at Tranquebar, possibly in 1712," and goes on to list both "*The Abomination of Paganism*" and "*Das Verdammliche allgemeine Heydentum (The Damned Condition of the Hindus)*" as Tamil works printed by the mission in Tranquebar. Singh correctly identifies "The Abomination of Paganism" [i.e. *Akkiyāṇam*] as a Tamil work, but wrongly suggests that it was not the first work to be printed on the Tamil press. He correctly dates the *composition* of "Das Verdammliche allgemeine Heydentum" between 15 March and 13 April 1712, but wrongly describes it as "a Tamil tract in eight chapters addressed to the Hindus" (it is a German tract in thirteen chapters addressed to Christians in Europe), and wrongly identifies it as having been printed in 1713.

<sup>42</sup> Gensichen, "Abominable Heathenism", p. 38; Gensichen, "Verdammliches Heidentum," p. 9.

<sup>43</sup> Lehmann, "Halle und die südindische Sprach- und Religions-Wissenschaft", p. 156.

<sup>44</sup> Jeyaraj, *Inkulturation*, pp. 149f.

<sup>45</sup> Jeyaraj, *Ziegenbalg's "Genealogie der malabarischen Götter"*, p. 309.

<sup>46</sup> Brijraj Singh, *The First Protestant Missionary to India: Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg (1683-1719)*, Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 164-75.

The purpose of this rather laboured discussion has been not so much to suggest that the title "Verdammliches Heidentum" embodies a serious misunderstanding of the content of *Akkiyāṇam*, but rather to demonstrate that despite several mentions of it in the scholarly literature, the lost 1712 tract has been rather forgotten as a result of the confusion (as early as 1727) of its title with that of *Akkiyāṇam*. There is clearly a need for a comprehensive list of Ziegenbalg's writings, both extant and lost, which attempts to reconcile the various titles given to his works by Ziegenbalg, his editors and translators, and those who have written on him.<sup>47</sup> In the case of the 1712 and 1713 tracts, further confusion might be avoided if the title "Verdammliches Heidentum" (or "Verdammliches Allgemeines Heidentum") is reserved for the lost 1712 German tract (which might be referred to in English by the 1714 translation of the title as "The whole Pagan Idolatry"). While "Abominable Heathenism" seems an accurate and historically-warranted translation into English of the title of the 1713 Tamil tract *Akkiyāṇam*, this work might best be referred to in German, following Ziegenbalg's translations, as "Abscheuliches Heidentum". The safest approach, however, and the one which will be adopted here, would be to retain the Tamil title, and refer to the work as *Akkiyāṇam*.

### ***Akkiyāṇam* in the Context of Ziegenbalg's Interactions with Hindus**

In order to understand Ziegenbalg's purpose in writing *Akkiyāṇam*, the tract must be considered in the context of his interactions with Hindus over an extended period. Fortunately the missionaries went to considerable lengths to document these interactions in their reports to the mission's sponsors in Europe. In his earliest letters from India, Ziegenbalg reports debating at length with Hindus, at first with the seventy-year-old schoolmaster who instructed him in the Tamil language, and later with those he encountered in and around Tranquebar and on his journeys within the region. The missionaries recorded details of many such conversations, and reports of fifty-four of these were published in the *Halle Reports*, with a selection also appearing in English translation.<sup>48</sup> Within two years of his arrival in Tranquebar, Ziegenbalg reports that

<sup>47</sup> Such a list is under preparation by the present author.

<sup>48</sup> HB I: pp. 505-605 and 662-808; HB II, 15. Con.:11-72, 16. Con.: 73-151, 17. Con.: 153-224.

he had also begun to conduct such discussions by correspondence, and expresses his frustration that he lacked the time and means to engage in “an intensive exchange of letters.”<sup>49</sup>

One reason for wanting to do so seems to have been the frustration of Ziegenbalg’s desire to extend the mission’s work beyond the Danish enclave of Tranquebar into the surrounding kingdom of Tanjore. His desire to do so may in turn have been prompted by the difficult relationship between the mission and the Danish Commandant, which had been deteriorating since mid-1708 and culminated in the imprisonment of Ziegenbalg from 19 November 1708 until 26 March 1709.<sup>50</sup> In September 1709, Ziegenbalg planned “a short journey inland... in order to see whether in future the Gospel could be advanced”<sup>51</sup> there. The journey had been aborted after a single day, however, when Ziegenbalg was informed that he would be liable to arrest if he did not have the permission of the King of Tanjore to travel in the lands under his control. Learning also that earlier Portuguese missionaries had died in prison after being arrested, Ziegenbalg decided to return to Tranquebar, where he and his colleagues reflected on the lessons the journey held for the conduct of the mission. They concluded that, considering the danger of arrest (in addition to all the other difficulties of travel), the mission would achieve more in Tanjore through the distribution there of books on the Christian religion written in Tamil than by going there in person.<sup>52</sup> Visiting in person might be more successful in the “lands of the great Mogul,” provided that they preached only to the “Malabarian heathen” (i.e. Tamil Hindus) and not the “Mohamedan Moors” (i.e. Muslims).<sup>53</sup> Four months later, in January 1710, Ziegenbalg travelled to Madras in order to find out whether this was indeed the case.<sup>54</sup> In a letter dated 16 January 1710, written from Madras, Ziegenbalg reported that while passing through land ruled by the King of Tanjore on his way to Madras,

<sup>49</sup> Germann, “Bibliotheca Malabarica”, p. 7. See AFSSt/M: 1 C 1: 47; Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe*, p. 86.

<sup>50</sup> Ulla Sandgren, *The Tamil New Testament and Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg: A Short Study of Some Tamil Translations of the New Testament. The Imprisonment of Ziegenbalg 19.11.1708-26.3.1709*, Uppsala: Swedish Institute of Missionary Research/Svenska institutet för missionsforskning, 1991, pp. 89-121.

<sup>51</sup> Ziegenbalg to Joachim Lange, Tranquebar, 30.8.1709, AFSSt/M: 1 C 2: 11; HB I: 168.

<sup>52</sup> Ziegenbalg to Lange, Tranquebar, 11.9.1709, AFSSt/M: 1 C 2:12; HB I: 174.

<sup>53</sup> Ibid.

<sup>54</sup> HB I: 93.

he had distributed a “long letter to the heathen Malabarians,” which he says he had written “at New Year”<sup>55</sup> and had had copied many times.<sup>56</sup>

### “God’s letter to the Tamils”

This letter, which is an important precursor to the later tract, *Akkiyānam*, was entitled by Ziegenbalg *Parāparavaštuvākiya caruvecuraṅ [carvēccuraṅ] colamaṅtalattile vācamā yirukkiṛa tamiḷar [tamiḷar] ellarukkum eḷuti aṇuppiṇa nirupam* (“The letter written by the Lord of All, the Supreme Being, to all the Tamils who live in Coromandel”).<sup>57</sup> The letter is referred to in the *Halle Reports*, and by some later authors (e.g. Gensichen), as the “Brief an die Malabarische Heidschafft” (“Letter to the Malabarian Heathens”). Jeyaraj, following Alwin Gehring’s translation of Ziegenbalg’s title, refers to the letter as “Brief Gottes” (“God’s letter”), reserving the title “Brief an die Heidschafft” for a later work which will be discussed below.

In the *Halle Reports* the letter is said to have been written “to convince the Malabarian Heathens of the falseness of their idol-worship and to bring them to the recognition of the only true and living God.”<sup>58</sup> Francke considered publishing the letter in the fifth instalment of the *Halle Reports*, but decided that he could not do so because in the letter Ziegenbalg adopts the voice of God himself, speaking directly to the Malabarians. The implied claim to prophetic status would, he thought, provide ammunition for critics of the mission.<sup>59</sup> In the letter

<sup>55</sup> *Pace* Gensichen (“Abominable Heathenism,” p. 38, “Verdammliches Heidenthum,” p. 9) and Jeyaraj (*Inkulturation*, p. 143; *Tamil-Palmlatte-Manuskripte*, p.134 (#67)), who date this letter to 1709, the context (Ziegenbalg’s letter of 16.1.1710) makes clear that New Year of 1710 is intended and thus that the letter is to be dated 1.1.1710. Lehmann likewise dates the letter to 1.1.1710 (Arno Lehmann, *Es begann in Tranquebar. Die Geschichte der ersten evangelischen Kirche in Indien*, Second ed., Berlin: Evangelische Verlagsanstalt, 1956, p. 216).

<sup>56</sup> Ziegenbalg to a Professor of Theology in Halle, Madras, 16.1.1710; HB I: 93.

<sup>57</sup> AFSSt TAM 37 L. See Jeyaraj, *Tamil-Palmlatte-Manuskripte*, p. 134. My account of the letter is based on the German translation by Gehring of a copy of the letter in the Württemberg State Library. Gehring translates the title of the letter as: “Brief Gottes, des Allherrn, an alle in Tscholamandala wohnenden Tamulen” (Gehring, *Ziegenbalg*, pp. 41 and 99-104). Although the version of the letter printed in the *Halle Reports* was presumably based upon a translation by Ziegenbalg of his Tamil letter into German, no extant copy of this is known to me. Few manuscripts of Ziegenbalg’s known letters from early 1710 are extant.

<sup>58</sup> HB I: 211.

<sup>59</sup> Germann, *Ziegenbalg und Plütschau, Abth. I*, p. 295.

God proclaims his qualities (sovereignty, immateriality, omnipotence, omnipresence, omniscience) and demands to know why the Tamils (*tamiḷar* [*sic*]) worship many gods who lack these qualities. Francke did, however, publish a summary of the contents of the letter, in which the qualities of God are listed, rather than proclaimed by God himself. Francke also omits the repeated commands which Ziegenbalg places in the mouth of God, to “smash and destroy the idols which are set up in your temples”<sup>60</sup> and to “bring together all the books which are written about the idols, cast them into the fire and burn them”.<sup>61</sup> Like *Akkiyāṇam*, the letter echoes Romans 1, charging the Tamils with worshipping creatures rather than the creator, and having become “full of deceit, fornication, desire, adultery, impure lusts, anger, hate, arrogance, thievery and other sins.”<sup>62</sup> As in *Akkiyāṇam*, the heathen Malabarians are described here as *akkiyāṇikaḷ*.<sup>63</sup>

In the course of his ten-day journey to Madras, Ziegenbalg engaged in discussions with Brahmins, Pandarams and others. In each of the cities he passed through (Sirkali, Chidambaram, Porta Nova, Cuddalore, Pondichery, Sadraspatnam and St. Thomas Mount), and other places where he stayed overnight, Ziegenbalg distributed copies of the letter, and on occasion also copies of his translations of Matthew’s gospel and summary of Freylinghausen’s *Grundlegung der Theologie*.<sup>64</sup> He also collected the names of Brahmins he wished later to exchange letters with.<sup>65</sup> This correspondence seems first to have been taken up in earnest more than two years later when, on 1 August 1712, the missionaries reported the “inauguration of correspondence with the Indians in their language.” The correspondence began with a letter to the Brahmins in “Diruwuttur”<sup>66</sup> near Madras, whom the missionaries had previously spoken to and found to be more learned than others. In the letter “several questions concerning religion were posed, with the request that they answer according to their principles.” While these letters would also

<sup>60</sup> Gehring, *Ziegenbalg*, p. 100.

<sup>61</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 104.

<sup>62</sup> *Ibid.*, pp. 99 and 101.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 101.

<sup>64</sup> HB I: 93.

<sup>65</sup> HB I: 95-97.

<sup>66</sup> Grafe suggests this may be Tiruvallur (Hugald Grafe, “Hindu Apologetics at the Beginning of the Protestant Era in India,” in Michael Bergunder, ed., *Missionsberichte aus Indien im 18. Jahrhundert, Neue Hallesche Berichte*, Halle: Verlag der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 1999, p. 73).

serve the purpose of making the missionaries and their work better known among those with whom they had no direct contact, the main purpose of this letter and the correspondence it initiated, was less to preach to the Indians than to solicit information about their religion, in order to understand more clearly the reasons for their resistance to conversion.<sup>67</sup> In their defence of the mission against the criticisms of Johann Georg Bövingh, dated 9 September 1713, Ziegenbalg and Gründler write: “We have begun a written correspondence with the heathen, and continued it intermittently up to now. In this we have as our purpose above all that we might be better informed by them on many points about their heathenism and, through translation of their letters, make known to the Europeans what knowledge these heathens have on this or that matter and how they express themselves on the points of their heathen religion.”<sup>68</sup>

Fifty-five letters received by the mission between October and December 1712 were translated and sent to Halle, where they were published as the seventh instalment of the *Halle Reports* in 1714. A further forty-four letters were sent to Halle at the end of 1714, and published as the eleventh instalment of the *Halle Reports* in 1717.<sup>69</sup> A selection of these letters—the so-called “Malabarian Correspondence”—was published in English translation in 1717 and 1719 respectively.<sup>70</sup> It is this correspondence which seems to have provided the immediate reason for the composition of *Akkiyāṇam*. In their “Apologia” Ziegenbalg and Gründler continue: “Even if we do not find the time to answer all their letters at length, but rather are usually only able to send them further new questions with a short reply, nevertheless there is also an opportunity

<sup>67</sup> HB 6: 315.

<sup>68</sup> Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg and Johann Ernst Gründler, “Apologia Epistolae Bovingianis Opposita”, Tranquebar, 8.9.1713, AFSt/M: 2 C 5, pp. 57-8; Niels-Peter Moritzen, ed., *Von den Anfängen evangelischer Mission: zwei unbekannte Missionsschriften von 1713 und 1717*, Bonn: Verl. für Kultur und Wiss., 2002, p. 143.

<sup>69</sup> See Kurt Liebau, “Die ‘Malabarische Korrespondenz’ von 1712/1713 und das Bild der Tamilen vom Europäer”, *Asien Afrika Lateinamerika* Vol. 25 (1), 1997, pp. 53-73; Liebau, *Die malabarische Korrespondenz*; Grafe, “Hindu Apologetics”.

<sup>70</sup> Jenkin Thomas Phillips, ed., *An Account of the Religion, Manners and Learning of the people of Malabar in the East Indies. In several letters written by some of the most learned men of that country to the Danish Missionaries*, London: Printed for W. Mears and J. Brown, 1717, and Jenkin Thomas Phillips, ed., *Thirty Four Conferences between the Danish Missionaries and the Malabarian Bramans (or Heathen Priests) in the East Indies concerning the Truth of the Christian Religion: together with some letters written by the heathens to the said Missionaries. Translated out of High Dutch*, London: Printed for H. Clements, W. Fleetwood, and J. Stephens, 1719.



to preach Christ, especially since now and then we send them a book concerning our Christian teaching, and refer to it in our letters, which has prompted this or that question about Christ and Christianity among them.”<sup>71</sup>

One letter in particular, the forty-first of the first part of the correspondence, dated 25 November 1712, seems likely to have prompted the composition of *Akkiyāṇam*. The letter was written in answer to three questions: “namely, what Heathenism is, which nations are to be called heathens, and if the Malabarians are not also to be known as heathens?” The author’s answer to the first question stresses immorality as well as irreligion: “If one does not love God, nor believe in him, nor go into the Pagodas and to the sacred water; but rather nourishes a sinful mind and heart, and leads a life which is against both heaven and also the earth and contrary to them; likewise, if one goes after whores, is abandoned to gambling, exerts oneself to steal, drinks too much, speaks falsely, takes people for fools and tempts them, mixes together with devils, regards others without any compassion and pity, and is abandoned to other similar sins: all this can be called Heathenism, according to our Malabarian way of thinking.”<sup>72</sup>

At the end of the letter, the author states that “the word Heathenism means sin and unruly character”.<sup>73</sup> The missionary’s annotation to the letter comments:

They do not describe heathenism thus: that it means both to worship no God or many gods. For they do not believe that there would be found peoples who do not worship any god, and their worship of many gods they excuse with the teaching, that they worshipped through those only one divine being. They take the word heathenism in its actual [i.e. its Tamil] meaning. Such is called *Akkiānum* with them and comprises all sins and bad habits which originate from reason and will of man. Because *Diānum* [*tiyāṇam*] or *Gnanum* [*ñāṇam*] means for them wisdom, reason, holiness and is a general word for all good works which come from man’s reason or will. *Akkianum* though is the opposite, and describes a wild and rude character in will and reason.<sup>74</sup>

<sup>71</sup> Ziegenbalg and Gründler, “Apologia”, p. 58; Moritzen, ed., *Von den Anfängen evangelischer Mission*, p. 143.

<sup>72</sup> HB I: p. 483.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid, p. 484.

<sup>74</sup> Ibid, p. 484-5.

In his writings Ziegenbalg repeatedly praises the morality of at least some Hindus,<sup>75</sup> suggesting that he would have to agree that, on the “actual meaning” of *akkiyāṇam*, not all of them could be described as *akkiyāṇikaḷ* or heathens. It is for this reason that he is at such pains, in the first chapter, to stress that the worship of many gods (*tevakal*) is *akkiyāṇam*. The first chapter of *Akkiyāṇam* cites at length the first chapter of Romans, in which idolatry is said to lead to immorality. The second and third chapters, describing how *akkiyāṇam* has come into the world, and how widespread it is in the Tamil country, retain the emphasis on idolatry as the salient feature of *akkiyāṇam*.

### “Akkiyāṇam” in Hindu, Catholic and Protestant Usage

The term *akkiyāṇam* (or *aññānam*) and its positive correlate, *ñānam*, were already in use by both Hindu and Roman Catholic authors in India.<sup>76</sup> Tiliander notes that while the *ñānam*, which is derived from the Sanskrit *jñāna*, “is rarely found in poetical writings where the Dravidian Teḷivu is used instead... in the didactic literature the term occupies a prominent place.”<sup>77</sup> Of the Tamil literature with which he was familiar, Ziegenbalg valued most highly the ethical treatises, three of which he even translated,<sup>78</sup> along with some *cittar* literature.<sup>79</sup> By contrast, he frequently states that it is the Tamil poets who have been the agents of the devil in leading their readers away from a knowledge of the true God gained either by the light of nature<sup>80</sup> or from their knowledge of

<sup>75</sup> See, for example, Willem Caland, ed., *B. Ziegenbalg’s Kleinere Schriften*, Amsterdam: Uitgave van Koninklijke Akademie, 1930, p. 25; Gaur, “Verzeichnis der Malabarischen Bücher”, p. 85.

<sup>76</sup> See Bror Tiliander, *Christian and Hindu Terminology: a study in their mutual relations with special reference to the Tamil area*, Uppsala: Almqvist & Wiksells, 1974, pp. 60-64.

<sup>77</sup> Ibid, p. 61.

<sup>78</sup> Caland, ed., *Ziegenbalg’s Kleinere Schriften*.

<sup>79</sup> See Will Sweetman, “The Prehistory of Orientalism: Colonialism and the Textual Basis for Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg’s Account of Hinduism”, *New Zealand Journal of Asian Studies* Vol. 6 (2), 2004, pp. 12-38, reprinted in this volume.

<sup>80</sup> Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg, “Genealogia der Malabarischen Götter, darinnen umständlich berichtet wird, wie manche Götter dieser Heiden glauben woher sie ihren Ursprung deriviren, wie sie auf einander folgen, wie sie heißen, was vor mancherley Nahmen sie in den Poetischen Büchern führen, wie sie gestaltet und beschaffen seyn, was vor Aemtmter und Verrichtungen sie haben, in welche Familien sie sich ausgebreitet, welche Erscheinungen von ihnen geglaubet werden, was vor Pagoden sie ihnen bauen, was vor Fast- und Fest-Täge sie ihnen zu Ehren halten welche Opfer sie ihnen anthun, und was vor Bücher sie von ihnen geschrieben haben. Verfaßet von den Königl.[ichen]

the biblical revelation.<sup>81</sup> In both *Parāparavaṣṭtu eḷuti aṇuppina nirupam* and *Akkiyāṇam* the poets in particular are connected with *akkiyāṇam*. In the former, the *akkiyāṇikaḷ* are said to have preferred the works of “lying poets” to the Word of God,<sup>82</sup> and in the latter schoolchildren are said to be taught *akkiyāṇam* from “*ola* books written by poets” instead of “helpful admonitions or good morals.”<sup>83</sup>

Ziegenbalg was probably aware of the use of both *nānam* and *akkiyāṇam* by Roman Catholic authors. Tiliander notes that Roberto Nobili “often uses *Aññānam*... he shows how followers of the innumerable religious systems have sunk into *Akkiyānam*.”<sup>84</sup> Ziegenbalg found a library of Jesuit works in Tranquebar,<sup>85</sup> which he says were very helpful to him in learning Tamil and in adopting a proper Christian style so that he could express himself on spiritual matters in a way that did not smack of heathenism.<sup>86</sup> Tiliander writes: “The Tranquebar missionaries took over the term [*Nānam*] without any reservation” and they used it

Dänischen Missionäris in Ost-Indien zu Tranquebar”, (1713). Royal Library, Copenhagen, shelf mark: Ledreborg 424, p. 20r.

<sup>81</sup> Ibid, pp. 6r-6v. Cf. Germann, “Bibliotheca Malabarica,” p. 66.

<sup>82</sup> HB I: 213-4. In Gehring’s translation the works preferred by the *akkiyāṇikaḷ* are those of “verblendeter Gelehrten”, but Francke’s version probably better reflects Ziegenbalg’s vocabulary as it is based on his own translation.

<sup>83</sup> *Akkiyāṇam* chapter 3. Despite this, in the mission’s own Tamil schools, some poetical works were introduced “very carefully” to older children, so that “in time they might learn to understand and refute them” (HB I: 240). Among the books used were the *Kuṛaḷ* and the *Civavākkiam* (HB I: 865). Moreover, Ziegenbalg was aware that in other schools, books such as Auvaiyār’s *Konṛaivēntaṅ*, one of the ethical treatises he translated, were taught to children (HB I: 410).

<sup>84</sup> Tiliander, *Christian and Hindu Terminology*, p. 63; see Soosai Arokiasamy, *Dharma, Hindu and Christian, according to Roberto de Nobili: analysis of its meaning and its use in Hinduism and Christianity*, Roma: Editrice Pontificia Università Gregoriana, 1986, p. 193.

<sup>85</sup> Germann, “Bibliotheca Malabarica”, pp. 9-10.

<sup>86</sup> Ziegenbalg, Tranquebar, 22.9.1707; Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe*, p. 59; see Joachim Lange, ed., *Merckwürdige Nachricht aus Ost-Indien Welche Zwey Evangelisch-Lutherische Prediger Nahmentlich Herr Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg Gebürtig von Pulsnitz in Meissen Und Herr Heinrich Plütscho Von Wesenberg in Mecklenburg So von Seiner Königl. Majestät in Dennemarck und Norwegen Den 29. Novemb. 1705. aus Copenhagen nach Dero Ost-Indischen Colonie in Trangebar gesandt: Zum löblichen Versuch Ob nicht dasige angrenzende blinde Heyden einiger massen Zum Christenthum möchten können angeführt werden: Erstlich unterwegs den 30. April 1706. aus Africa von dem Vorgebirge der guten Hoffnung bey den so genanten Hottentotten. Und bald darauf aus Trangebar von der Küste Coromandel, an einige Predige und gute Freunde in Berlin überschrieben und von diesen zum Druck befördert. Die andere Auflage, Leipzig and Franckfurt am Mayn: Joh. Christoph Papen, 1708, p. 4.*

in many compounds such as “*Nānaṣṭtānam*, a crude spelling instead of *Nāna snānam*, Baptism.”<sup>87</sup> He concludes that these “*Jñāna*-compounds give a familiar impression to a Hindu reader. He feels himself in *terra cognita*.”<sup>88</sup> Like many other missionaries, both before and after his time, in his choice of language Ziegenbalg had to walk a narrow line between using terms that would be familiar to his readers, with the inherent risk that the distinctively Christian content of his message would thereby be lost, and coining new terms which carried the risk of not being understood at all.

In choosing *nānam* and *akkiyāṇam/aññānam*, Ziegenbalg would have been fully aware that he was using terms central to the theology of Śaiva Siddhānta, the Hindu tradition he had most to do with and which did most to shape his own view of Hinduism. In one of his earliest accounts of Hinduism, the foreword to his translation of three Tamil ethical treatises, dated 30 August 1708,<sup>89</sup> Ziegenbalg describes four different degrees of liberation (*mukti*), a concept which is drawn from the Śaiva Āgamas:

The first [salvation] they call *Tschalógum*, or paradise, which is also called *Kailaschum* by them. The second salvation they call *Tschamibum*, or that salvation in which one can be very close to the highest God. The third salvation they call *Tscharúbum*, or that salvation in which one can be the very image of God. The fourth salvation they call *Tscháutschium*, or that salvation in which one is entirely united with the highest being of all beings. In order to achieve this salvation, they make great efforts, striving and exerting themselves to live a truly virtuous life. There are thus a great mass of such people found among these heathen, who worship no idols at all, nor go into their pagodas like the others, but rather exert themselves only in the practice of virtue, and speak of nothing else, but only of virtue. These heathen indeed confess no religion, possess little of their own, but nevertheless something special is to be seen in them, and [they] lead a very austere life.<sup>90</sup>

<sup>87</sup> Tiliander, *Christian and Hindu Terminology*, p. 63.

<sup>88</sup> Ibid, p. 64.

<sup>89</sup> See Sweetman, “The Prehistory of Orientalism: Colonialism and the Textual Basis for Bartholomäus Ziegenbalg’s Account of Hinduism”, pp. 18-20, reprinted in this volume.

<sup>90</sup> Caland, ed., *Ziegenbalg’s Kleinere Schriften*, p. 24; see HB I: 61, and Willem Caland, ed., *Ziegenbalg’s Malabarisches Heidenthum*, Amsterdam: Uitgave van Koninklijke Akademie, 1926, p. 173.

The four degrees of liberation (*cālōkam*, Sanskrit *sālokya*, “being in the sphere of God”; *cāmīppiyam*, Sanskrit *sāmīpya*, “being in the vicinity of God”; *cārūpam*, Sanskrit *sārūpya*, “having the same form as God’s”; *cāyucciyam*, Sanskrit *sāyujya*, “having life in common with God”<sup>91</sup>) are correlated with the “four paths” (*pātanāṅku*) which are described in, and structure, the Śaivāgamas: *kiriyai* (Sanskrit *kriyā*, “ritual action”), *cariyai* (Sanskrit *caryā*, “proper conduct”), *yōkam* (Sanskrit *yoga*, “discipline, asceticism”) and *ñānam* (Sanskrit *jñāna*, “knowledge, gnosis”).<sup>92</sup> The *pātanāṅku* are described by Ziegenbalg in the first chapter of his *Malabarisches Heidenthum*.<sup>93</sup> He devotes most space to those he calls “*Gnanigöl*”, i.e. *ñāṅikaḷ*, describing them as follows:

The fourth type, that called *Gnanum*, comprises those who reject all divinities, and all special ways of life, and beyond all penances have achieved wisdom, for the word *Gnānum* means wisdom and sanctity. Therefore those who have become *Gnanigöl* regard as blindness not only the things of the world, but even all that by which the others seek their salvation. They reject the many gods the others venerate so highly.<sup>94</sup>

He then quotes at length from the *Civavākkīyam* (“Śiva’s utterance”), identifying its author, Civavākkīyar, as one of the *ñāṅikaḷ*. In the *Genealogie* he describes the *ñāṅikaḷ* as those who annihilate (“vernichten”) idolatry, worship the single divine being without images, and whose books prescribe a virtuous life as worship of the only God.<sup>95</sup> In addition to *Civavākkīyam*, he mentions also the *Kuraḷ*, and two other works (*Ñāṅaveṅpa* and *Nīti-cāram*) as being the most important of their works. In *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, he writes that on first reading these works, he thought that “their authors were perhaps Christians,

<sup>91</sup> Mariasusai Dhavamony, *Love of God according to Śaiva Siddhānta: a study in the mysticism and theology of Śaivism*, Oxford: Clarendon, 1971, p. 117.

<sup>92</sup> Richard H. Davis, *Ritual in an Oscillating Universe: worshipping Śiva in medieval India*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 10; Sanford B. Steever, “Civavākkīyar’s *Abecedarium Naturae*”, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, Vol. 114 (3), 1994, p. 365.

<sup>93</sup> Caland, ed., *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, pp. 26-28.

<sup>94</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 27.

<sup>95</sup> Ziegenbalg, “Genealogie”, p. 15r. In his recent translation of the *Genealogie*, where Ziegenbalg writes “*Gnanigöl* oder Weise”, Jeyaraj gives “Jains” (Daniel Jeyaraj, *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities: An English Translation of Bartholomäus Ziegenbalgs Original German Manuscript with a Textual Analysis and Glossary*, London: Routledge Curzon, 2004, p. 50). Although Ziegenbalg was aware of the Jains, and refers to them elsewhere in the *Genealogie* (Ziegenbalg, “Genealogie”, p. 87v), he does not refer to them here.

because they not only condemned the plurality of gods and adduce the one God but they also criticize all other heathen elements and call them blindness.”<sup>96</sup> In fact Civavākkīyar’s criticisms of elements of Śaivism begin from premises which he shares with orthodox Śaiva Siddhānta, namely, the doctrine of the “three realities” (*mupporuḷ*): *pati* (the Lord), *pacu* (bound souls), *pācam* (bondage).<sup>97</sup> Civavākkīyar radicalizes this doctrine, reasoning that “since *pācam* is by definition that which binds the soul, separating it from God [*pati*], nothing which pertains to bondage [*pācam*] can help liberate the soul [*pacu*].”<sup>98</sup> Substantial matter (*māyai*) is one aspect of *pācam*, and as images of the deities are material, worship of them cannot lead to liberation. Ziegenbalg writes that Civavākkīyar “has got as far as recognizing that the heart must be a temple devoted to God.”<sup>99</sup> He evidently regarded the writers of the Siddha Siddhānta tradition, whom he consistently refers to as the *ñāṅikaḷ*, as those Hindus who had come closest to perceiving the truth in relation to the divine.<sup>100</sup> It is perhaps surprising, then, that in *Akkīyāṅam* he does not cite the texts of the *cittar* tradition for, as will be discussed below, he does cite them in another text addressed to the Hindus. Perhaps the reason for this is that Ziegenbalg would have been aware that the broader Śaiva Siddhānta tradition regarded the worship of Śiva through material images as an essential part of religious practice. He would also have been aware that this tradition was exclusive, claiming to be the true *ñāṅamārkkam*, and regarding those who followed other paths as *akkiyāṅikaḷ*.<sup>101</sup> In *Akkīyāṅam*, therefore, Ziegenbalg sought to redefine *akkiyāṅam*, in particular as the worship of material images of many

<sup>96</sup> Caland, ed., *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, p. 42. A later missionary scholar, Robert Caldwell, argued that the *cittar* ideas were the result of Christian influence (K. Kailasapathy, “The Writing of the Tamil Siddhas”, in Karine Schomer and W.H. McLeod, eds., *The Sants: studies in a devotional tradition of India*, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass, 1987, p. 386).

<sup>97</sup> David Buck describes the writings of Civavākkīyar and other *cittar* [Skt. Siddha] writers as Siddha Siddhānta, existing in close but oppositional relationship to the dominant current of Śaiva Siddhānta (David C. Buck, “Siddhānta: Siddha and Śaiva”, in Fred W. Clothey and J. Bruce Long, eds., *Experiencing Śiva: encounters with a Hindu deity*, Columbia: South Asia Books, 1983, pp. 59-74).

<sup>98</sup> Steever, “Civavākkīyar’s *Abecedarium Naturae*”, p. 367.

<sup>99</sup> Caland, ed., *Malabarisches Heidenthum*, p. 133.

<sup>100</sup> “Unter den Heiden sind einige, die Jogigöl und wiederum andere, die Gnanigöl genannt werden; solche legen sich vornehmlich auf die Gemüts-Kontemplationen und haben noch den besten Begriff von Gott und von dem Gebet mit Gott.” Ziegenbalg to Passerin, Tranquebar, 10.11.1713, AFSt/M: 1 C 5: 68a-e; Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe*, p. 340.

<sup>101</sup> Tiliander, *Christian and Hindu Terminology*, p. 62.

gods. As was only to be expected, some Hindus among Ziegenbalg's correspondents resisted this redefinition.

### Responses to *Akkiyānam*

The initial response to *Akkiyānam* is described in a letter to Francke written at the start of 1714.<sup>102</sup> In the first weeks of November 1713, Ziegenbalg had travelled to Nagapatnam, taking with him multiple copies of *Akkiyānam* and also a Tamil translation of Luther's Small Catechism, which had been printed after *Akkiyānam*. These were distributed to the literate among those with whom he talked on his journey, as they had been to others in and around Tranquebar. In Karaikal, he had *Akkiyānam* read out by "a heathen", and as a result was brought before the Commandant of the town, who, with many others, listened to him speak and was then given two copies of *Akkiyānam*. In another town he met a group of Brahmin pilgrims who, after hearing the tract, told him they had nothing against its content but attributed the wisdom expressed in it to Ziegenbalg's reading of their own books. Ziegenbalg hastened to show them that although the divine truths could be expressed in their language, and that some of these coincided with the more reasonable of their doctrines, this did not mean that the truth was taught, believed and practised among them, for opposing doctrines could also be found in their books, their speech, deeds and conduct. In Nagapatnam he distributed further copies of *Akkiyānam*, in particular to schools. In Tranquebar, the tract had been distributed to schools for the children to learn, and to take home and read out to their parents. When asked by the missionaries what he thought of *Akkiyānam*, one schoolmaster answered that he could only give it his approval, even where it condemned their gods and the worship of them. The tract was also in demand from those who had heard about it, and asked either that the schoolmaster come to read it to them, or that they be sent copies of it. The widespread effect of distributing the tract put Ziegenbalg in mind of the contribution that the use of print had made to the Reformation. Already the mission had received enquiries about the possibility of printing in Telugu and Arabic.

Ziegenbalg continued to distribute copies of *Akkiyānam*, and other Tamil works printed by the mission, to those he met on his journeys right up until the end of his life. On 22 February 1718, almost exactly a year before his death, it was reported that Ziegenbalg had just returned

<sup>102</sup> Ziegenbalg and Gründler to Francke, Tranquebar, 3.1.1714, AFSu/M: 1 C 6: 17; HB I: 635-643.

from a journey, during which "his discussions in different towns, and the distribution of the Malabarian booklets had caused quite a stir here and there among the Heathen and the Moors."<sup>103</sup> Twenty of these discussions are recorded in the *Halle Reports*,<sup>104</sup> and some of them directly refer to *Akkiyānam* and other Tamil works of the mission.<sup>105</sup> The most detailed accounts we have of Hindu responses to *Akkiyānam* are to be found, however, in the letters of those to whom the tract was posted.

It was suggested above that the composition of *Akkiyānam* seems to have been prompted by the discussions on the nature of heathenism in the first part of the so-called "Malabarian Correspondence". As well as being distributed in person, *Akkiyānam* was sent—as is mentioned in Ziegenbalg and Gründler's "Apologia"—to some of those whose letters had appeared in the first part of the correspondence. Three letters published in the second part of the correspondence—written in the period from late 1713 to mid-1714,<sup>106</sup> that is, in the months immediately following the publication and distribution of *Akkiyānam*—refer directly to the tract.<sup>107</sup> These letters have already been discussed briefly by Gensichen, and in more detail by Hugald Grafe.<sup>108</sup> The author of the first letter excuses himself from responding to the tract on the grounds that he lacks the appropriate learning to reply. The author of the third letter not only emphatically rejects Ziegenbalg's claim to know the truth, but places all such claims, whether by Hindus (whether Vaiṣṇava or Śaiva), Muslims or Christians. It is however the second, and longest, of the letters which responds most directly to Ziegenbalg's attempt in *Akkiyānam* to redefine *akkīyānam* as the worship of material images of the many gods.

<sup>103</sup> Ziegenbalg and Gründler to Francke, Tranquebar, 22.2.1718, AFSu/M: 1 C 11: 2; HB II, 14. Con.: 155.

<sup>104</sup> See the 15th, 16th and 17th instalments. The conversations were also published in English translation (Phillips, ed., *Thirty Four Conferences*).

<sup>105</sup> E.g. HB II, 16. Con.: 95-110, see Gensichen, "Abominable Heathenism", p. 39, Gensichen, "Verdammliches Heidentum", p. 10.

<sup>106</sup> Not all the letters in the second part of the correspondence can be dated. Liebau lists the dates of those that can; the range is from 28 November 1713 to 1 June 1714 (Liebau, "Die 'Malabarische Korrespondenz'", p. 69).

<sup>107</sup> The letters in question are the 25th, 26th, and 40th, HB I: pp. 923-25, 925-30 and 952-54. Liebau suggests a fourth letter (the 39th, HB I: pp. 950-51) should be added to these (Ibid, p. 59).

<sup>108</sup> Gensichen, "Abominable Heathenism", p. 39; Gensichen, "Verdammliches Heidentum", p. 10; Grafe, "Hindu Apologetics", pp. 84-86.

The author argues that those who make different sorts of offerings, sing praises and offer worship to “the idols, Aien, Piradi, Dukkei [perhaps Aiyānār, Piṭāri, and Turkkai, i.e. Durgā]” thinking that they will thereby be released from their sins, are clearly heathen. While there are many such in the world, there are also a few who practice true virtue, are of good conduct and offer proper worship, and acknowledge only the Supreme Being, the creator of all, as God, and cannot be called heathens. Moreover, not only are both sorts of people, *ñānikaḷ* and *akkiyānikaḷ* (“Weise und Heyden” in the German translation), to be found among all religions, but the worship of many deities is “not all destruction and blindness”. As the one God has commanded that offerings, praises and worship should be offered to the many gods, “one worships the one true God through the gods, and in no way is the same worship offered to these gods themselves.”<sup>109</sup> Only those who worship the “*Idirdewadegaḷ*” (perhaps *turtēvatakaḷ*, “demons, goblins, evil spirits”), believing them to be gods, may be described as heathens, and as not recognising their creator. The author goes on to acknowledge that there are “lying poets” among the Tamils, but denies that their works are “accepted by us as law-books.” It is the *Purāṇas* which describe how one may be rid of one’s sins, and if one performs the ceremonies prescribed in them, and gives the Brahmins their due, one may be free of sin.<sup>110</sup> We have no record of how Ziegenbalg may have responded to this writer, and indeed no certainty that he responded directly at all,<sup>111</sup> but some indication of how the missionaries might have responded can be gained from examining a third Tamil work printed by the mission.

### “The letter of the Tranquebar Gurus to the Tamils”

This work is a letter written by Ziegenbalg and Gründler in 1717, and entitled *Taraṅkaṅpāṭiyile yirukkīra kurumārkaḷ yinta-t-teca-t-tārā yirukkīra tamilar ellārukkum eḷutiṅa nirupam* (“The letter written by the gurus in Tranquebar to all the Tamils who live in this country”). The letter was printed in Tamil on 17 December 1717, but with the year 1718 on the title page, and a German translation was printed twelve days later.<sup>112</sup>

<sup>109</sup> HB I: 926-7.

<sup>110</sup> HB I: 929.

<sup>111</sup> See Ziegenbalg and Gründler, “Apologia”, p. 58; Moritzen, ed., *Von den Anfängen evangelischer Mission*, p. 143, cited above.

<sup>112</sup> HB III, 33. Con.: 931. On the printing of the letter and its German translation, see Ziegenbalg and Gründler to Francke, Tranquebar, 22.12.1717, AFSt/M: 1 C 10: 44/45; Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe*, p. 502.

Jeyaraj dates the first printed edition of this letter, which he calls “Brief an die Heidenschaft,” to 1712, arguing that therefore *Akkiyānam* could not have been the first work printed on the Tamil press.<sup>113</sup> He states that he discovered four editions of the letter (1712, 1718, 1733 and 1744) in the library of the Franckesche Stiftungen, but the date on the title page of the copy he cites as a 1712 edition (MBFS C:38:93), is 1722 (*āyirattu eḷunūtt-irupatureṅṅām*). Moreover, not only do the missionaries’ letters repeatedly state that the first work to be printed was *Akkiyānam*,<sup>114</sup> but the Tamil type, cast in Halle, did not arrive in Tranquebar until August or September 1713.<sup>115</sup> There is no mention of this letter (*Kurumārkaḷ eḷutiṅa nirupam*) prior to 1717, although the earlier (unprinted) *Parāparavaṣṭtu eḷuti aṅuppiṅa nirupam* of 1710 is mentioned under the title “Ein Brief an die Malabarische Heydenschaft” in the mission diary for 1712.<sup>116</sup> In addition to the four Tamil editions of *Kurumārkaḷ eḷutiṅa nirupam* (1718 [i.e. 1717], 1722, 1733 and 1744)<sup>117</sup> and the German translation (reprinted in the *Halle Reports*<sup>118</sup>), a Danish translation by the secretary to the Tranquebar Commandant’s privy council, Rasmus Hansen Attrup, was published on the mission press in 1719.<sup>119</sup>

The tone of *Kurumārkaḷ eḷutiṅa nirupam*, at least in the German translation, is markedly different from that of both the *Parāparavaṣṭtu eḷuti aṅuppiṅa nirupam* and *Akkiyānam*. The emphasis is less on the fact that the Tamils are heathen, than on the fallen nature of all humankind. “The earth, on which we and you live, is *one* earth. There is only one God, who had us and you born on this earth, and just as he has all people in this world born, so he also has them all die, and demands an appropriate account from all those who have lived.”<sup>120</sup> The missionaries write that they have found the Tamils beyond reproach in many aspects

<sup>113</sup> Jeyaraj, *Inkulturation*, p. 146; see Jeyaraj, *Ziegenbalgs “Genealogie der malabarischen Götter”*, p. 485; Jeyaraj, *Genealogy of the South Indian Deities*, p. 356.

<sup>114</sup> See Lehmann, ed., *Alte Briefe*, p. 326, HB I: 633, I: 923, II: 36.

<sup>115</sup> Ziegenbalg and Gründler to Francke, Tranquebar, 9.9.1713, AFSt/M: 1 C 5: 27/28p; *Ibid.*, p. 285.

<sup>116</sup> HB I: 332.

<sup>117</sup> The third and fourth editions appeared under a slightly different title: *Taraṅkaṅpāṭiyile irukkum kurumārkaḷa tamila-c-cāṭiyār ellārukkum eḷutiṅa nirupam*.

<sup>118</sup> HB II, 18. Con.: 259-269.

<sup>119</sup> *Et brev hvilket af de Kongelige Danske missionarier i det Malabariske sprog er de Malabariske hedninger paa kystem Coromandel bleven tilsendt. Først i det Tydske sprog af Missionarierne oversat, og nu fordansket af Rasmus Hansen Attrup*. Tranquebar: trykt i det Kongel. Danske Missions-Bogtrykkerie, 1719.

<sup>120</sup> HB II, 18. Con.: 259.

of their corporeal life. While the Tamils are reproached for engaging in ceremonies, offerings, purifications, prayers and other practices taught by the Brahmins and priests which are impotent to purify the soul from sin, or to achieve salvation, the letter acknowledges that some among them have come closer to the truth:

Even some of the *ñāṅikaḷ* among you have given written testimony that all such [ceremonies] are false, and merely such ceremonies and works which hinder salvation, and do not allow anyone to achieve wisdom [*ñāṅam*]. They have also rejected all your religious practices as unfit, and have taught all kinds of doctrines, dealing with sin and virtue, about which they have also written books. Much of what they have taught is indeed in accord with reason and propriety. But they provide only this and that doctrine, that you should avoid sin, and practise virtue; they do not, however, show you the ways and means by which you should convert, nor how you could become virtuous people, nor how true virtue and those good works which are in accordance with faith may be practiced, nor how you ought rightfully to worship the invisible God, nor how you might conduct yourself in this world according to his will and be saved. In this way even the doctrine of those among you who are somewhat rational is inadequate and false, and not able to improve or to save you.<sup>121</sup>

Although the Tamils are said in *Kurumārkaḷ elutina nirupam* to have erred greatly in that which concerns the soul, the quest for salvation and the practice of religion,<sup>122</sup> there are no passages equivalent to those in *Parāparavaṣṭtu eluti anuppina nirupam*, in which Ziegenbalg has God repeatedly command the Tamils to smash their idols and burn their books, or *Akkiyāṅam*, in which those who gave up *akkiyāṅam* are said to have burnt the books of the poets who had deceived them and broken the idols which they had been worshipping as *tevaḷ*.<sup>123</sup> The altered tone of *Kurumārkaḷ elutina nirupam* may owe something to the reception of *Akkiyāṅam*. Like the change of *akkiyāṅam* and *akkiyāṅikaḷ* to *meññāṅam-illāvarkaḷ* and *meññāṅam-illāmai* in the later edition of *Akkiyāṅam*, this is no doubt primarily a matter of presentation rather than an indication of any more substantial change in the missionaries' position. Ziegenbalg's oral exchanges (*Gespräche*) with his Hindu interlocuters at this time, as recorded in the *Halle Reports*, remain robust. But the evidence of

<sup>121</sup> HB II, 18. Con.: 262.

<sup>122</sup> HB II, 18. Con.: 261.

<sup>123</sup> *Akkiyāṅam* chapter 2.

the three texts written to the Hindus, together with the Malabarian Correspondence, indicates that Ziegenbalg was engaged in a genuine dialogue with his Tamil correspondents, and one can only speculate on how that dialogue would have developed, had Ziegenbalg's part in it not been cut short by his premature death.<sup>124</sup>

<sup>124</sup> Research for this paper was begun during tenure of an Alexander von Humboldt Foundation Research Fellowship at the Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle and Martin-Luther-Universität, Halle-Wittenberg.